

## Message Text

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53

ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 NEAE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00

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FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4788

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBSSY BEIUT

AMEMBSSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

UNCLAS TEL AVIV 6955

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, XF,IX, US, UR

SUBJECT: RABIN--AN OVERVIEW OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI DISPUTE

1. SUMMARY. PRIME MINISTER RABIN, SPEAKING TO ISRAELI EDITORS ON 27TH ANNIVERSARY OF UN'S 1974 PARTITION VOTE, GAVE GOI ASSESSMENT OF CURRENT ISSUES AND DEVELOPMENTS IN ARAB-ISRAELI DISPUTE INCLUDING A) SOVIET SUPPORT FOR ARAB EXTREMIST POSITIONS, B) PROSPECTS FOR FURTHER BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS, C) IMPLICATIONS OF BREZHNEV'S JANUARY 1975 CAIRO VISIT, D) US- SOVIET MIDEAST ROLES, E) FUTURE ROLE OF JORDAN, F) ISRAELI APPROACH TO PLO ISSUE, G) IMPLICATION OF LATEST GOI DECISION RE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT ON WEST AND AND H) PROSPECTS FOR FORMATION OF NATIONAL UNITY GOVERNMENT. END SUMMARY.

2. RABIN, IN BROAD REVIEW OF ARAB-ISRAELI DISPUTE TO ISRAELI EDITORS NOVEMBER 29, SUMMARIZED CURRENT GOI THINKING ON PROSPECTS FOR NEXT UNCLASSIFIED

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STAGE OF NEGOTIATIONS AS WELL AS RECAPITULATION OF WELL-ESTABLISHED

ISRAELI POSTIO ON JORDAN AND THE PLO.

MAIN POINTS ARE SUMMARIZED BELWO (QUOTES ARE FROM OFFICAL  
GOI TEXT).

3. SOVIET SUPPORT FOR EXTREMIST TREND. RABIN SAID THA SOVIETS,  
SYRAINS, LIBYANS, IRAQUIS AND PLO WAN TO PREVENT EGYPT AND  
JORDAN FROM CONCLUDING SEPARATE, EVEN PARTIAL AGREEMENTS WITH  
ISREL. THEY AIM INSTEAD OT RECONVENE GENEVA CONFERENCE AS  
UNITED ARAB FRONT TO DEMAND COMPLETE ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL AND  
ESTABLISHMTN OF THIRD, PALESTINIAN STATE UNDER PLO COMPRISING  
WEST BANK AND GAZA STRIP. ACHIEVEMENTS OFTHIS "SOVIET-SYRIAN  
POLICY" INCLUDE A) UN DECISION TO ALLOW TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS  
WHICH CALL THEMSELVES THE PLO TO BE REPRESENTED AT UN; AND  
B) NEUTRALIZATON OF JORDAN. SYRIAN AGREEMENT TO RENEWAL  
OF UNDOF MANDATE ALSO IS LINKED TO EFFORT TO RECONVENE GENEVA  
CONFERENCE.

4. PROSPECTS FOR BILATERAL NEGOTAIONS. RABIN SAID THAT  
SOVIET EXTREMEIST TREND WAS CONFRONTD BY OPPOSITE ONE OF  
NEGOTIATIONS ON BILATERAL BAISS WITHIN FRAMEWORK OF GENEVA  
CONFERENCE BETWEEN ISREL NAD ARAB STATES. IN ABSENCE OF  
ARAB AGREEMENT TO CONCLUDE OVERALL SETTLEMENT , ISRAEL HAD  
AGREED TO SEARCH FOR PROGRESS BY STAGES.

5. BREZHNEV'S CAIRO VISIT. RABIN SAID, BEGIN QUOT BREZHNEV'S VISIT  
TO CAIRO ON 15 JAN IS, MORE OR LESS, EGYPT'S HINT  
TO ISRAEL, TO THE WESTERN WORLD AND THE UNITED STATES THAT THIS  
IS THE FRAMEWORK OF TIME WITHIN WHICH AN ARRANGEMENT MAY BE  
REACHED. AND AFTER WHICH THRE MAY BE A CHANGE IN EGYPT'S  
POLICY AND A RETURN TO THE BULIDING UP OF MILITARY STRENGTH AND  
PREPARATION MAINLY FOR THE MILITARY OPTION. AND THE CONVENING  
OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE ON THE NCLUSIVE PATTERN MEANS  
PREPARATION MAINLY FOR THE MILITARY OPTION--LET THERE BE NO  
ILLUSION AMONG US ON THAT SOCRE. END QUOTE.

6. US-SOVIET MIDEAST ROELS. RABIN SAID THAT ISRAEL DOES NOT  
HAVE TO FEAR US-SOVIET UNDERSTAIDING RE SOLTUION OF ARAB-ISRAELI  
DISPUTE .BEGIN QUOTE.

IN MY OPINION IT DOES NOT EXIST. THE ACTIVIES OF THE TWO  
POWERS APPEAR --TOM E, AT ANY RATE--TO BE OPPOSED TO  
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EACH OTHER. END QUOTE. INSTEAD ISRAEL FACES DANGER THAT,  
IN AABSENCE OF PROGRESS ON BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS, ISRAEL WILL  
FACE PRESSURE TO GO TO GENEVA CONFERENCE WITH PARTICIAPATION OF  
PLO. BEGIN QUOTE. SO LONG AS WE CAN PREVENT THAT DEVELOPMENT  
WE MUST SEEK EVERY POSSIBLE WAY TO DO SO. END QUOTE.

7. JORDAN AND PLO. RABIN REITERATD GOI VIEW THAT  
PALESTININA PROBLEM CAN BE SOLVED WITHIN CONTEXT OF

JORDANIAN-ISRAELI NEGOTIATIONS. QUOTE WE SHOULD HOLD FAST TO ONE PRINCIPLE: NOT TO CONDUCT ANY NEGOTIATIONS WITH THOSE WHO CALL THEMSELVES THE PLO. IF THIS POLICY IS PROVED RIGHT-- AND WE MUST PERSEVERE WITH IT FOR HALF A YEAR, A YEAR OR TWO YEARS --THERE WILL BE NO ALTERNATIVE. AND I BELIEVE THAT OUR PARTNER IN DIALOGUE TO THE EAST WILL AGAIN BE THE JORDAN KINGDOM. UNQUOTE. RABIN, COMMENTING ON LIKUD MK ARIEL SHARON'S COMMENTS TO ISRAELI NEWSPAPER RE DESIRABILITY OF REPLACING HUSSEIN WITH PLO ON EAST BANK, SAID THAT THERE WAS NO GOI INTEREST IN SEEING HASHEMITE REGIME REPLACED. AS REGARDS SHARON'S PROPOSAL, "ONLY GOD AND MR. SHARON CAN EXPLAIN ITS." RABIN RECALLED GOI 1970 FIGHT AGAINST PALESTINIAN TERRORISTS AND ITS OPPOSITION TO SOVIET UNION, AND ISRAELI-JORDANIAN COMMON INTEREST IN MAINTAINING PEACE ALONG BORDER WHICH EXTENDED FAR SOUTH OF WEST BANK.

8. JORDAN--LOST OPPORTUNITY? RABIN DENIED THAT GOI HAD MISSED OPPORTUNITY TO REACH INTERIM SETTLEMENT WITH JORDAN BEFORE RABAT CONFERENCE. JORDAN HAD DEMANDED UNILATERAL ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL IN CONTEXT OF DISENGAGEMENT OF FORCES AGREEMENT WITHOUT ANY JORDANIAN CONCESSION IN RETURN.

9. PLO AND TERRORISM. REPLYING TO CRITICAL COMMENT BY SHARON RE ALLEGED INADEQUACY OF GOI RESPONSE TO TERRORISM, RABIN NOTED THAT IT WAS UNREALISTIC TO BELIEVE THAT PROBLEM COULD BE SOLVED " FINALLY AND ABSOLUTELY." WITHIN AREAS UNDER ISRAELI CONTROL, IDF HAD INCREASED ITS EFFICIENCY. BUT GIVEN DISPERSIONS OF TERRORIST GROUPS IN REFUGEE CAMPS AND IN MAJOR ARAB CITIES. IDF COULD NOT REACH ALL OF THEM.

10. GOI WEST BANK POLICY. RABIN SAID THAT GOI DECISION TO BUILD INDUSTRIAL CENTER AT MA'ALEH HA'ADUMIM WOULD NOT HINDER UNCLASSIFIED

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PROSPECTS OF PEACE. ARAB WORLD MAY REALIZE THAT RABAT CONFERENCE DECISIONS CREATED SITUATION IN WHICH ISRAEL HAS NO ONE WITH WHOM TO NEGOTIATE RE WEST BANK. QUOTE IF THIS SITUATION CONTINUES, THERE MAY BE A RECONSIDERATION IN THE ARAB WORLD--NOT TODAY OR TOMORROW, OR IN A YEAR'S TIME. I SUGGEST THEREFORE THAT WE SHOULD NOT BE TOO IMPRESSED BY THE APPLAUSE FOR YASSER ARAFAT AT THE UN, BUT SEE THINGS IN THE LIGHT OF POSSIBLE DEVELOPMENTS IN SIX MONTHS OR A YEAR OR TOW. UNQUOTE.

11. NATIONAL UNITY GOVERNMENT. RABIN SAID THAT THERE WAS NO NEED FOR LIKUD TO ENTER THE GOVERNMENT IN ORDER " TO DELIVER IT" (I.E. STRENGTHEN IT). LIKUD HAS NOT INDICATED THAT IT IS PREPARED TO JOIN GO ON BASIS OF CURRENT GUIDELINES. IF IT SHOULD BE PREPARED TO DO SO, RABIN SAID, LABOR PARTY

THEN WOULD HAVE TO CONSIDER THE MATTER. THERE WAS NO  
REASON WHY GOI COULD NOT CONTINUE IN ITS PRESENT FORM ON  
BASIS OF ITS PLATFORM AND PUBLIC STATEMENTS. RABIN ALSO  
DENIED ALLEGATIONS THAT USG OR ANY OTHER SOURCE HAD TRIED  
TO INFLUENCE HIM RE COMPOSTION OF GOI.  
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